1:Lipkind E-5 (1937) 1948 SP9 Caraja SP9

775 **Death.**—At death, the soul becomes a wild ghost if the person has been violently killed and a regular resident of the village of the dead if he has suffered a quiet death. A shaman's soul is translated to the skies. Mourning puts an end to all religious ceremonies and is celebrated by self-laceration, the destruction of property, and daily keening. There 764 is separate burial in formal cemeteries for those who died quietly and [766] those who died violently. The corpse is wrapped in a mat with his weapons and ornaments, and the mat is hung in a shallow grave covered [765] by poles (fig. 22). Food and drink are provided for a short period. After the next change of season, the bones are exhumed and placed in a family urn.

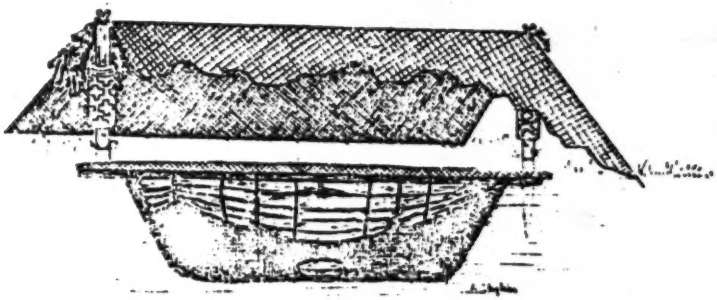


FIGURE 22.—*Carajá* burial. (Redrawn from Ehrenreich, 1891 b, fig. 16)

WARFARE

726 The *Carajá* are good fighters and have maintained themselves since prehistoric times in a territory surrounded on all sides by warlike enemies. Their usual tactics are waiting outside an enemy village at night and attacking at dawn. In defense, they run to the nearest water, where they [411] are unbeatable. They use the bow and arrow and club, and are skilled [526] wrestlers. They cut off a foot bone of a dead enemy and carry it back [727] to their village; this places them in control of the ghost, who now be- [775] comes a caretaker of the village and is impersonated in a special dry-season ceremony. At one such ceremony there were two *Tapirapé* ghosts, [648] three *Chavante*, one *Cayapó*, and one Neo-Brazilian. Present-day war- [727] fare is largely with the *Chavante*, the *Cayapó*, and the *Canoeiro*. Now and then a Neo-Brazilian may be killed by stealth to avenge a personal grievance. No captives are taken except women and small children, who are treated as full members of the group.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

531 **Art.**—Decorative art is confined to woven designs on baskets and mats, feather ornaments, elaborate masks with superimposed feather designs,

/30 cont./

764 One such verse might be reproduced in translation, at least
535 the sense of it.
539 Chorus: džoiri koniko -- hidžohoho (repeated 4-5 times) otohoniko -- kudžä beboniko, i.e.: He lives no more, it is over for him, do not think of him any more, he hangs on the pole (kudžä).

The deceased: roniro nira -- koti uaidžä uaniro bioko nero -- aidžodžä biowa, i.e.: I am in a beautiful country, bring me tobacco (koti), have you put the lip plug on me? Further: I lack nothing, but bring water to the grave, etc.

Between times the chorus repeats over and over the muted: haidžä hä hä hãn̈ -- hä hãn̈ -- hä hãn̈, i.e.: It is all over.

764 /31/ The burial takes place the next day, or, when death has occurred in the morning, in the evening of the same day.
[765] The ceremonies, songs, and dances are then continued for three or four more days, during which time no one works.

The burial places are always close to the river on higher
[126] ground. Two of them, one near S. José, the other somewhat above the mouth of the Rio das Mortes on the right bank, were more closely investigated by me and some skeletons exhumed.

The grave (Fig. 16 a-d /see p. 63/) is a rectangular pit two meters long, one meter wide, and 50-70 centimeters deep, over which some poles are placed in the long direction. The corpse, wrapped in buriti mats, hangs in a horizontal position, swinging free, on the centermost pole (1) (a). A container filled with food

[114]

1. Castelnau's statement, op. cit., I, p. 446, that the deceased stands vertically in the grave (la tête fait une saillie au dessus du sol /the head projects above the ground/) is probably based on confusion with the method of burial in a squatting position customary among the Kayapo.

/Fig. 16 appears here/ stands under it on the ground. The pit is covered with a mat, over which lies a foot-high layer of earth (b).

/32 cont./

765 If the survivors so desire, the bones are later dug up again and deposited in separate shallow clay containers near the grave.

Memories of the dead do not fade quickly. Long after the death of a family member, the devotion of his relatives is expressed in violent outbreaks of pain when a reminder of the deceased is evoked by some event. If, while examining storage baskets in the houses, we came across objects from the estate of departed spouses or children, the women broke out in loud lamentation, which stopped only when the object concerned was hidden again.

765 [464] In the last Šambioa village I witnessed a scene of mourning as unique as it was touching, when the news arrived that a Karaya had died in Pará, where he had gone on a boat as a hired rower. His mother and wife paced up and down on the bank for two days, while solemnly mourning loudly in song, holding ornamental objects of the lamented in their hands and continually waving them downstream where he had disappeared.

[533] The mourning songs were continued, accompanied by other women, far into the night.

Sicknesses and Witch Doctors

164 On the whole the Karaya have been spared from the worst scourges of primitive peoples, smallpox and syphilis, just as little are they subject to the leprosy and goiter so widespread in the population of Goyaz. On the other hand tuberculosis, the infectiousness of which is well known to the Indians, is steadily increasing among the Karayahi. Ahi catarrho nao tem? Is there no catarrh, too? is always the first question which they ask the foreign visitor before they allow him to enter their huts. Malaria fevers occur in their more intensive form also only in the Karayahi region, particularly in the lowlands between São José and the mouth of the Rio das Mortes.

757 Medicines are apparently used by the savage tribes of South America to a much lesser degree than one generally assumes.

/210 cont./

302 Men sometimes wear the bowl cut, but usually they have the same hair style as the youths, except that they do not tie their hair, but let it hang freely. Among them, too, the wreath of hair can still be seen under the long hair. In later years no value is any longer attached to the parting and the crown tuft (Pl. 17; Pl. 36, Ill. 1; Pl. 43, Ill. 3).

Ill. 38.
Youth with tuft feather-cluster and hair wreath.

The parting (lāwōlŭ), which both sexes wear from puberty on, is achieved through the plucking out of the individual hairs. In the [184] south horde it is narrow, so that at first I did not even notice it; in the north horde, on the other hand, it is about two fingers wide. Young people almost always paint it with red color, whereas older ones do not wear this ornamentation. The crown tuft always goes with it.

The hair wreath is restricted to the male sex from boyhood on; women do not have it.

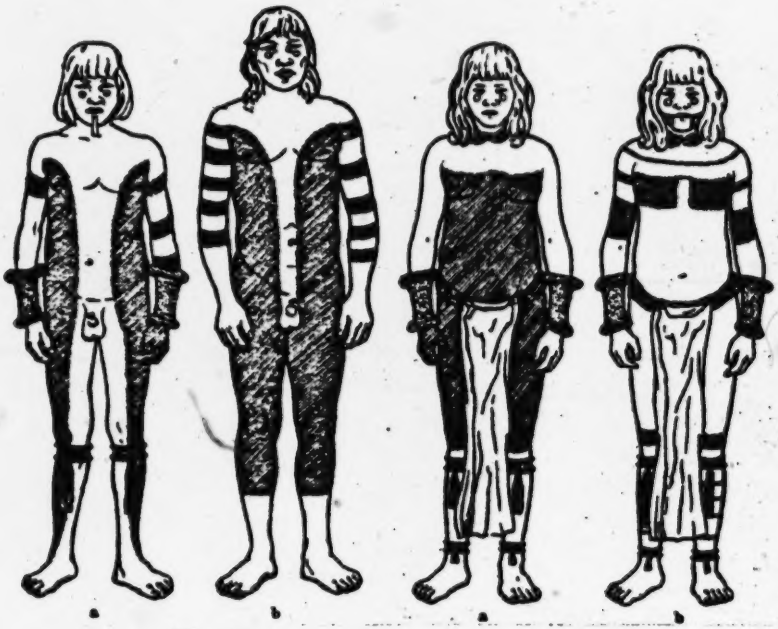
[412] [237] The cutting of the hair is now done with shears. According to Ehrenreich, they formerly cut it with piranha teeth. To my questions as to how they cut their hair before they had shears, they always told me that in those days they did not cut it, because they did not have any shears. Thus, the former custom has completely vanished from their memory. The hair that was cut off was thrown away, as I myself observed. The purpose of the long hair, they say, is for protection against mosquitoes.

•[765] /211/ For mourning they are said to cut off the hair, and the women, too, are said to cut themselves a hair wreath called nākŭlāŭ (?). I did not observe this custom, however, in Kabisá's family, which was in deep mourning.

The hair is very carefully tended. In the morning and evening it is combed out and oiled. Before they start on a journey, when they return to the village from hunting, fishing, or from the plantings, their hair is combed out for them by the mother, wife, or another female relative. When they arrive in a strange village on a visit, the chief's wife combs and oils their hair.

/214 cont./

302 from ear to ear with soot scraped from the charred campo trees.
[535] For dance festivities the men and youths are painted by the women. In general, this patterning is their ornamentation,
[826] their festive clothing. Mothers often painted their sons when the latter were to set out with us on a fishing expedition.



Ill. 43.
Boy (a) and man (b) with full patterning.

Ill. 44.
Two girls with full patterning.

[765] For mourning, the entire body, even the face, is said to be provided with genipap painting. I did not see this custom, however, in the case of Kabisá's family.

There are no differences in the painting between the two sexes, except that perhaps the men, who have more to do out in the open than the women, who essentially remain in the village and in the houses, wear the full painting more than the women. The patterns themselves are the same for both sexes, except that the men like a somewhat more extensive patterning.

/330 cont./

764 Large cemeteries are found near São José, S. Izabel do Morro (1).

1. Apparently this is the cemetery that Rufino visited on December 6, 1846; Rev. trim. X, p. 206.

In the smaller cemeteries the grave is dug and the corpse is hung in it horizontally on the pole. Then poles are placed over the opening and the whole is covered with earth. Concerning the equipment of these graves in more detail, none of which I saw, unfortunately, see in Ehrenreich ("Beiträge," p. 31). A dish
765 of food is placed on the grave for six days. When the body is decayed, the grave is dug up again (according to Pedro, after one month; according to Kuriší, after a year). The bones are cleaned and gathered together in a large funeral urn. This cleaning from the bones the bits of flesh still clinging to them is said to be done by means of a bone like the one customarily used for cauterizing wounds; one end of the bone is held in the fire and the flesh is then scraped off with this heated end. Special ceremonies no longer seem to take place in connection with this. The urns are placed under trees in the large cemeteries, where they gradually become filled with sand (see Pl. 13 /see p. 7/, Ill. 2). Their shape corresponds to that of the cooking pots, except /331/ that they are provided with a lid (Pl. 58, Ill. 11). The largest such urn that I saw had a diameter of 80 centimeters.
[766] Corpses of small children are said to be immediately deposited in such urns.

[768] The hut of the deceased is abandoned and then burned. If
[302] the husband died, the hair of the wife and of the mother of the man is cut short, except for a wreath of hair running all around (nǎkŭlắŭ); the hair of the children, however, is not cut. Upon the death of the wife, the husband, mother, and children do not cut their hair. As a further sign of mourning, both sexes wear bast or cotton bands around their heads. One woman wore, in addition, a narrow bast-belt around her waist; one boy had tied bast strips on the calf bands. Otherwise all ornaments are taken off. Laments for the dead are shouted out by both sexes with a

/331 cont./

765 loud, high voice in a monotonous intonation; at the same time rattle gourds are swung. It seems that laments take place as soon as anything reminds them of the deceased. In any case definite times of the day for these could not be determined. The people, however, are sincerely grieved; one can see their sorrow in their faces, at least at first. The father allegedly mourns a child only one day, the mother four days. This statement is certainly not true, for in Schischá I heard lamentations for a child who was said to have died three weeks before. The husband mourns his wife only a short time; on the other hand, the wife her husband for a year. After this time has elapsed, the widow is painted with urucú and hung with ornaments at the command of the chief. After this she mourns one more day, and with this the period of mourning is at an end.

15. Religion, Masks, Magic, Medicine.

114 971 Concerning the religious views of the Karajá I was able to discover but little. The researcher does not come across anything that could suggest any belief in spirits or a cult, with the exception of the masked dances.

114 535 796 Unfortunately, I saw very few such dances, since I traveled in the Karajá region from June to October, whereas the time of the dancing seems to be precisely from November to April. Thus, I am unable to report anything about the meaning of these dances; all my efforts to find out anything about this from the people by questions failed because of the meager possibility of mutual [532] understanding or the deliberate withholding of information. I assume, however, that these dances, which coincide with the time of ripening of certain field produce and at which masks representing animals are used, are in part harvest festival dances, but in part originate from ideas out of which the so-called magic by analogy developed later on. More cannot be said about this; all 532 else would be useless speculation. Some of the masks are not

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

764 gumming feathers onto it, then a pole nine feet long is laid upon it, lengthwise, as it lies upon its back, and the whole is enwrapped in the palm-leaf mat which had served as the bed of the deceased during life, and wound with long strips of bark. The purpose of this pole is that the remains may hang suspended from it in the grave. The group that dances and wails as it moves around the corpse, is led by a kind of precentor, who is relieved from time to time as he grows weary. As the performers dance, they hold their arms extended in front with the fingers of one hand placed upon the backs of the fingers of the other hand, thus forming a bow. The singing is alternate and responsive. The chorus asks the deceased where he has gone and how he fares, and the leader of the chorus responds for the corpse. The chorus wails, "He lives no more! It is all over with him! Think no more of him! He is hanging from the bar!" Then the leader, speaking for the departed, responds hopefully, "I am in a beautiful land! Give me some tobacco! Did you put the plug"—the tobacco pipe—"between my lips? I am in need of nothing! But, be sure to place water at the grave!" The chorus now repeats but one question, and answers in a doleful voice: "It is all over with him! It is all over!" Very frequently these ceremonies begin before the subject is even dead.

764 535 533

764 Interment occurs the next day after death except where death has taken place very early in the morning, in which event it is the same day, at evening. The singing, wailing, lamentations, dancing and other lugubrious festivities continue three or four days, during which time all work is abandoned. The Karayá cemeteries are always located on top of a high hill near the river. The civilized Brazilians, imitating, perhaps, their savage ancestors, also place their cemeteries on the highest ground near the town, where it often endangers the health of the living.

765

A Karayá grave is a hole in the ground nearly seven feet in length, three feet wide and thirty inches deep. The body is hung horizontally into this excavation so that it swings freely from the already mentioned pole, each end of which

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca. 1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

rests on top of the ground. Beneath the corpse, which swings eight or ten inches above the bottom of the grave, is placed a clay pan filled with food for the shade of the departed. Next, a number of poles are placed beside the first one supporting the body so that they cover completely the mouth of the grave; and over these, in turn, is placed a palm-leaf mat, upon which is heaped about ten inches of earth. The grave is further marked and decorated by setting up at the head and foot two stakes some three feet high, each terminating in a fork at the upper end, and embellished with a tassel of feathers, besides other adornments. These decorations are for the purpose of frightening away trespassing demons or ghosts. At the center of each post is a ring on which is carved the insignia or emblem of the family of the deceased, which, for example, may be a lizard. A strong cord is stretched between the stakes resting in the forked tops, over which, with the outer edges touching the ground, are placed two palm-leaf mats to form a miniature hut over the grave. This is intended as the domicile of the deceased. Calabash shell vessels containing food and drink for the soul, are placed upon the grave inside this mortuary hut, for the disconsolate shade is believed to linger near its discarded body for a time. Later, if the surviving relatives demand it, the bones are exhumed and deposited in a large clay urn, which is either sunk into the ground near the grave, or allowed to stand upon the surface of the ground.

The memory of the departed is cherished. Even long after the death of an individual, the surviving relatives give expression to their grief by loud and stormy outbreaks of feeling when any occurrence revives the memory of him. The occasion may be the arrival at the village of some one who was a near relative or an intimate friend of the departed, whose appearance recalls the memory of him; or it may be the revealing of some memento of the deceased. Dr. Ehrenreich says that when he was looking through the baskets in one of the huts for curios, he brought to light some memorials of deceased parents or children. Instantly, the women in the hut—

6:Cook M-3,4 (ca.1900) 1909
SP9 Caraja SP9

765 it is always the women—broke out into loud lamentations and wailings, which did not cease until the objects were again hidden from view. He says that he witnessed at a Sambiða village a very pathetic mourning scene when the news came that a certain resident of the village had died in Pará, whither he had gone as a paddler in one of the trading boats descending the river. The mother and the wife of the deceased paced up and down the bank of the river near the village during two entire days, uttering continually loud and solemn cries of mourning. In their hands, they carried his ornaments and waved them constantly in the direction of the place where he had died. With the assistance of other women, the wailing was continued throughout the night. But whatever may be the real sentiments of the relatives, lamentations and wailing must not be omitted.

164 The Karayá have not suffered as much from smallpox and goitre as other primitive peoples. But tuberculosis is increasing among them, and they know that it is infectious. "Is there any catarrh where you hail from?" is the first question they ask a stranger before he is allowed to enter their huts. Intermittent fevers exist among them only in certain 753 low regions. They use but little medicine, for all sickness and disease is looked upon as demon possession, or the result 755 of witch-craft. Therefore, they trust to their conjurers, or tribal priests, to relieve illness. These men seek to remove the fancied poison or disturbing element by sucking the part of the body where the pain is located, or to expel the evil spirits by performing enchantments, or practicing black arts. 757 One of the most noted medicaments of the Karayá, is the resin of the almecegêira tree, which is mixed with cocoa-nut oil and taken in the form of snuff for headache, and also rubbed on the abdomen to cure stomach-ache.

000 Bates, in his valuable work, "The Naturalist on the Amazon," says: "No one could live long among the Indians of the Upper Amazon without being struck with their constitutional dislike for heat. Europeans certainly withstand the high temperature better than the original inhabitants of the